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ADDRESS

TO THE
LANDHOLDERS AND FARMERS
OF
NEWPORT COUNTY,

DELIVERED BY
HON. TRISTAM BURGESS,

AT A MEETING OF THE FRIENDS OF

MESSRS. PEARCE AND BURGESS,

HOLDEN AT HOWLAND'S FERRY BRIDGE,

AUGUST 7, 1829.

SECOND EDITION.

Providence:

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE DAILY ADVERTISER.

1829.

HOWLAND'S BRIDGE, TIVERTON, AUG. 7, 1829.

TO HON. T. BURGESS.

The undersigned, your fellow citizens, in behalf of the company present on this day, at a dinner at Lawton's Hotel, in Tiverton, request that you would permit them to cause to be given to the public your remarks, made on this occasion, in reply to the following sentiment, expressive of their approbation of your Congressional course:

"Our distinguished guest and fellow citizen, TRISTAM BURGESS—May the Agricultural, Commercial, and Manufacturing interests of Rhode-Island, long continue to appreciate and enjoy, his useful and honourable services in the Congress of the United States."

With respect, we are your friends and fellow citizens,

COOK ALMY,
JNO. P. MANN,
STEPHEN B. CORNELL,
NATH. S. RUGGLES,
WM. VERNON,
C. E. ROBBINS,
CORNELIUS SEABURY,

SYLVESTER GIFFORD,
SIBLEY WILLCOX,
JOHN GRAY,
JOHN SANFORD,
PELEG BAILEY,
PETER ESTES.

[In compliance with the above request, the Address delivered on that occasion is now published.]

ADDRESS.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN—

I would offer some acknowledgment for the hospitalities of this day, and make some suitable expression of my thanks for the sentiment now communicated to me. It is but simple truth to say, I have no words, equal to the doing of it. When some of my oldest friends have become my adversaries; when men with whom I am engaged in honorable competition, for public favour, have misrepresented my best public services, and made or permitted false statements of my private transactions; at *such* a time to receive *such* testimonials, from *such* a representation of the great landed interest of the county of Newport, gives me feelings to which nature has *denied* me the power of utterance. Although I must be in arrear, in any account of favours, between me, and my fellow citizens; yet I will endeavour, as an individual of this community, to do some public service on this occasion.

Some days ago, a pamphlet was issued from the Herald Office at Providence. It purports to be addressed to the Landed and Manufacturing interests of this State; and alleges “that *certain individuals* have established a system, for eventually *destroying the landed interest* of R. Island.” This accusation, absurd in itself, is totally unconnected with any circumstance, giving it probability. *Well known facts*, are *called up as witnesses*; and their testimony, *fraudulently perverted*, is offered in *proof* of this *soul calumny*. Three of your delegation, in the *last Congress*, are *implicated* in this supposed conspiracy. The people are called upon to *abandon* their *late Representatives*; and to *elect* for the *next Congress*, as the *only hopes* of the State, the men nominated by the Fourth of July Caucus, holden at East Greenwich.

Upon reading it, I became at once satisfied, that some answer to this *slandrous tract*, would be expected, and was, therefore, required; not only by a becoming respect for the nomination made last June, but for those great interests which had united in making it; for the opinion of the people of Rhode-Island to whom the nomination was addressed; for my late colleague and myself, who were the subjects of it; for the great dignitaries of the state, under whose high advisement, a work of such a kind, as this pamphlet, must have been prepared; and, finally, for the opposing candidates who have sent out this fabrication, as

their political Manifesto. Your invitation to my colleague and myself, to meet you here, suggested the propriety of making that answer, at *this time*, and at this place. For where can we so *properly refute* this calumny, as in the *very presench* of that *great interest*, the *political power* of which we have been *slanderosly accused* of *conspiring* to overthrow?

We have been your public servants, for two successive terms, and we are now candidates, for a third appointment. No cause can induce us to believe, that you have not duly appreciated our public services; and I therefore, pray of you to hear me, in reply, to those who would persuade you, that we have, at any time, underrated your esteem, and conspired with others to betray your confidence. My colleague, you intimately know; with me you are, personally, less acquainted. Suffer me to say, for myself, that *next* to the approbation of "Him whose loving kindness is better than life;" and to "a conscience void of offence," I have ever highly prized, and anxiously laboured to merit and obtain, the good will, approbation, and esteem of my fellow men. It may be called ambition; it may be a weakness. Be it so. It is nevertheless, that infirmity, which calls on man, to toil, to watch, and to peril himself, for man. It is this which now puts me on your courtesy; and raises a question of serious, and high consideration, in the very current of our conviviality. Although I see none but glad faces at this table; yet I will presume, that not one of you would, with the Spartan exclaim, "*pleasure to-day, business to-morrow*" Under these considerations, I had prepared to offer some answer to this pamphlet; and so that our adversaries should not have occasion to announce, that *one thing* was *said* by me, and *another published*, I have written, and now place on the table before you, what I propose to deliver orally; and what, if you approve, I will commit to the *safe keeping* of the type, and publish "on the house top."

It has been thought proper, to consider, who composed, and wrote the little book, now in question; the nature of the allegations contained in it; their object, and who they are, by whom it is sent into the world; the arguments, offered in support of its slanderous accusations; and finally, to say a few words concerning the persons, intended, most peculiarly, to be injured, by putting in motion this torch of mischief.

Though not *signed*, or *guaranteed*, by any person, *responsible* for its contents; yet am I willing, its *circulation* should receive *benefit*, if so it may, from a knowledge of the *names*, in the *whole concern*; so that *all men*, disposed to *honour* the *Draft*, for the sake of the *Drawers*, may have opportunity, *fairly* to give it *that credit*, in *aid* of its *future* currency. This book begins by announcing to you, that there is a *plot* laid, and a *conspiracy* formed, among *certain individuals*, to *overthrow*, and *destroy* the

landed interest in this State. By whom is this alarm given? *If true*, you would *expect* to hear it from some *long-tried friends*, who held a *deep stake* in that important interest: men whose own hands *guided*, or whose skill and capital *directed* the operations of the plough. It is not so. The men who have *devised* and *written* this calumny, would *lose no occupation, no income, no political power*, if all the farmers in the State, were chained to their own ploughs; and sold, and bought, like so many Russian slaves, by some new masters of those fields which they have purchased with their toil, or received by inheritance from their fathers. The reputed authors of this pamphlet, are Benjamin Cowell, and John R. Waterman, Esq's.

Mr. Cowell is Clerk of the Circuit Court for the Rhode-Island District. He has so often accused me of being born in Massachusetts, that I must be pardoned for saying the gentleman himself was guilty of the same transgression; though, to say truth of him, it was so early in life, that he seems long ago to have forgotten it. I shall, I fear, never be able to make out any such justification; because I find, a certain obstinacy of recollection, is perpetually calling to my remembrance, that my mother still lives, and that the grave of my father yet remains, where, with feelings, never censured by any Rhode-Island man, *I often visit them*, in the *old colony of Plymouth*, and not many miles from the *Rock*, first landed upon, by the Pilgrims of New-England.

Mr. Cowell, though highly respectable for property, is not, and does not consider himself to be, one of the landed interest. He is an office holder under the United States; and gentlemen, in that condition, have never, until the present year, attempted to influence State elections. Will the landed interest look to him for advice, admonition, or warning?

Of Mr. John R. Waterman, I shall say but little. He now *belongs* to the *Custom House* in Providence; and whatever claims he may have *had* to the title of a *landholder*, he has *abandoned* his *connexion* with that interest, for his *present office*; and a *salary* which may vary, with the prosperity of commerce, from *fifteen to twenty-five hundred dollars* a year. Mr. Waterman's knowledge of political parties will not be questioned; for *no one* has *existed* in the State for the *last twenty years*, to which he has not *belonged*. Last August, he wrote a letter to a distinguished Landholder in Warwick, declaring himself then to be a *decided friend* of the *then present administration* of the General Government. Last March he figured, as it is said, in picking up *hints to farmers* to *warn* them *against all the friends* of that administration. For *all the purposes* of his *pay* he is in the custom house; but for *other purposes*, you will find him in *town and country*; in the *street* and at *taverns*; on the *bridge* and under the *Elm tree*, in Providence. If what politicians say be true, that a meeting of *three men* makes

a caucus, then this great sentinel of the landed interest holds at least one caucus each and every day.

This is the one, and that is the other, my friends, who have called out from the *Herald Office* that "a plot is laid; a conspiracy formed by certain individuals to overthrow and destroy the landed interest in the State." One is not quite a yearling, the other not more than a monthling Jackson man. "Verily, they both have their reward." These men have incautiously given us a perfect description of their own characters; and at the same time, expressed their opinion concerning yours. See their book, page 18. These are their words. "EVERY DABBLER in politics thinks himself competent to advise you, and to propose some scheme for your peculiar benefit; and, to SPEAK FRANKLY, you are too easily MISLED by whatever is APPARENTLY to your ADVANTAGE."

I have already detained you too long with this account of those gentlemen, who, having been so lately on our side, seem to think, that by turning government witnesses they can make it believed, that the friends of the late Administration have laid a plot, and entered into a conspiracy, for their own destruction. Who are the other individuals concerned in this conspiracy? The witnesses do not name them. They must be either of the Jackson party, or of some part of all the great interests in the State, who, with a surprising unanimity, supported the last Administration; and who will support the present, so far as it pursues the policy of the past. All these interests are deeply concerned in the success of that policy; and though a few of our friends have doubts concerning it; yet some of the Jackson men themselves will never be persuaded to relinquish it. Where then can be found the conspirators against the great landed interest of the state? Let those persons, who have attempted to excite the suspicion, and alarm, point out, and name the traitors.

The entire falsehood of this accusation may be easily demonstrated. It is utterly impossible to carry any such conspiracy into effect. This will appear by a short description of the several interests in the State. All people in Rhode Island, and indeed in all other well regulated communities, may be classed under five denominations of interests. Those concerned and employed in agriculture; those concerned and employed in manufactures; those concerned and employed in mechanical trades; those concerned and employed in merchandise; and those concerned and employed in the several liberal professions. Those concerned and employed in the government of the state are, by the happy genius of our institutions, so often changed, that they can never form a distinct class; and have any interests peculiar to themselves, and separate from the people. We have no monied interest. That part of our capital forming that interest, whether as a commodity, or a currency, is made by a contribution from

all other classes ; and managed by men, in banks or otherwise, who are concerned and employed, in some one, or more, of the five divisions above enumerated.

What cause have the landed interest to fear? Who has the political power? Not only is it true, that the great landed interest hold the great mass of this power; but it is also true, that no other interest can hold any share in this power, until it obtain some share in that interest. No man can have a vote, until he has acquired a freehold. He must own a certain value in land, equal in duration, to the term of human life.

These men may say it is but a small amount which gives this franchise. Do they intend, that small freeholders shall not vote, as well as large ones? Would they, like their Great Patron of Tennessee, suffer no man to vote, until he owns 700 acres of land? They talk mysteriously about an influence, which will overthrow the political power of the land-holders. What is it? Can it arise from the relative numbers of Freemen in the various interests? Will you find it in any thing, resulting from wealth, or independence, or Union, in any, or all the several interests of this community? Or is it derived from the manner of exercising the political power in the State? Let us examine them separately; that we may discover, and bring to light, this fearful preparation of political chemistry, so artfully concealed; and, for purposes, so desolating, laid up, until some traitorous incendiary may securely approach it with his lighted torch.

Let us begin this search, where we ended the enumeration of these various interests. Men concerned and employed, in the liberal professions, are either lawyers, physicians, ministers of religion, or those engaged in the business of instruction. What is the number of all these men? Is it one of each profession, to 1000 of the whole people in the State? It cannot be two; and the whole number does not probably exceed 600. As a body of men they are highly respected. For learning, talents, and a power of exercising them, no portion of our country furnishes men, in all their several walks, more decidedly able and distinguished. They have, and are justly entitled to have, much influence in community. It is, however, a moral influence; the result of character, and not of wealth. A few of them are rich; some have middling estates; but most are dependent on professional employment. Not many of them take much interest in political affairs; and but a small part of the whole number are freeholders, either for the mere purpose of being freemen, or for any any other cause.

Merchants are, by no means, so numerous, as at first it may be believed. They are of two descriptions; those concerned in the wholesale, and those in retail business. Retail Merchants are established, one part of them, in the country, and one in the

towns. Those in the country are landholders; and most properly belong to that interest. Retail Merchants, in the towns, devote all their capital to their business; and do not often incumber themselves with land, or become voters. Wholesale Merchants are, some of them, very rich; and all are men of wealth. The whole number in this employment, in all parts of the State, does not exceed 300. These are all freeholders. The number of men in their employment, in all the various branches of their labor, whether landsmen or seamen, does not probably equal 3000.—Those who command ships and vessels, and their principal officers, if fortunate, do, some of them, become rich; many have but a bare competency; and some are reduced to great poverty.—Few are freeholders. Mere common sailors abhor all household establishments; consider the ocean as their country; and think themselves abroad whenever they return home. All these, and almost all the day-laborers, employed by merchants, were born to no inheritance but poverty; and few, very few of them, are ever able to call the *little house and garden*, where they eat and sleep, their own.

Mechanics, with their journeymen, and apprentices, are much more numerous; but after all, they form but a small part of the whole population. A very few of them become wealthy; not many are prosperous enough to acquire freeholds; and a considerable number can but just support, and educate their families. All of them are diligent in their vocation; and, as a class of men, they are much respected; but not for their wealth, or numbers, or political power. It is for their *skill, industry, usefulness, and excellent conduct* in community.

Manufacturers form another class. These are the leviathan. The Egyptian walking stick, animated into a dragon, to swallow up all other interests. How numerous are they; those I mean, who own, or hire, and operate factories? Are they 3 or 5 or 700 or 1000 in all the State? It is true, they employ a considerable number, perhaps two or three thousand people. These are not owners of the soil; not freeholders; and have no votes. They are the sons and daughters of toil. Parents labor to bring up their children; and children labor to support their parents. Look into these establishments. Are they the nurseries of treason and profligacy? No master of a family has a better regulated household. Owners and master Manufacturers have weight in society, like other men, from their property, their talents, their scientific and moral attainments. Of the mere operatives, few are freeholders; and all depend, for all their influence among men, upon skill, industry, and good behaviour; upon those humble qualities, which often make the poor beloved, while the rich are only feared.

All these descriptions of interest, form but a small part of the freeholders, and voters in the State. Manufacturers do not count more than 700 votes; Merchants 400; Mechanics 300; and Professional men 100. The whole number of votes, belonging to all these interests, when all told, will not exceed 1500. All these are, to a certain degree, and many of them to a great amount, directly concerned in the landed interest; and derive all their political power from that source.

The great mass of voters belong to the landed interest exclusively. In the whole State, the whole number is not less than 7000. It is seen that 1500 only, belong to all other interests;—and this leaves a body of 5500 freemen, and voters, all belonging to the great landed interest of this State. Of the voters in the State, the landed interest can, at all times, therefore, carry almost 4 to 1. If the population in the State amount to 100,000, more than 75,000 are employed in Agriculture; while not more than 25,000 are engaged in all other employments. If numbers can secure the political power of the landed interest, then have they that security, beyond all fear and all question.

Does the superior wealth of the other classes expose the landed interest to any peril? In the State are about 1030 square miles, equal to 659,200 acres of land. All the towns and villages in the State, do not cover 20 square miles; or 12,800 acres.—This leaves 646,400 acres for the landed farming capital in the State. If you divide the lands into 515 parts, 514 of those parts belong to the landed, and one part to all other interests. I will not compare the mere moveable property of other interests, with this solid permanent basis for the freehold and fee-simple of the landholders and farmers of Rhode-Island. In a well regulated State, the value of lands will always exceed the value of all other interests. In England, where the Manufacturing and Mercantile Systems are carried to the utmost extent, there this agricultural interest is, by far, the most valuable. The whole amount of property, in land and farming capital, is, according to Low, in his present state of England, 1400 millions of pounds sterling; while the whole amount of property, in all other interests, comprehending the Manufacturing, Mercantile, and Navigation, and all others, is but 800 millions. The landed interest, even in England, is, in value, worth almost twice as much, as all other interests.

Ownership in lands is, above all other, coveted; because it carries with it the most secure, the most needful, and the most delightful part, of all property. The owners of land have that, in which, all men most delight; which creates most respect; and gives the greatest influence in all communities; and above all, is a source of the most certain independence.

It is indeed true, that a mutual dependence binds all classes of community together. This however, as it relates to farmers, is a union of accommodation and convenience; but in respect to all other classes, it is a union of not convenience only, but of absolute necessity. Farmers can live without them, but they cannot live without Farmers.

A union too of similar interest, exists among agricultural men. It is not so among the other interests. Envyings, competitions, rivalries, exist among them; and these prevent their union. What may we expect, among the mere children of this earth, if we find sectarian animosities, and bitter divisions, among the ambassadors of peace and good-will to man, sent from him whose kingdom is not of this world?

If, therefore, we regard the landed interest, in reference to their numbers, their wealth, their independence, or their union, we shall find that all attempts to overthrow, or even impair their political power, are utterly vain, and altogether imaginary.

This will be more strikingly illustrated, if we consider the manner in which, all political power is exercised in the State. You choose by a general ticket, or Prox, all general officers. The Governor, Lt. Governor and Senate; the General Treasurer, Secretary, Attorney General, and Representatives to Congress, are all thus chosen. In any contested election, it is usual to put in 5700 votes. Of these 4200 must be landholders; while all other interests, can put in no more than 1500. If the landed interest all comes out, it can put in 1300 more. How, I pray of you to ask Mr. Cowell and Mr. Waterman, how, without your consent, or gross neglect, this power can be taken from the landed interest.

You further exercise this power, in the choice of Representatives in each town. How many belong to the landed, how many to all other interests? Newport has six, Providence four, Warren two and Bristol two; and if these two towns be not rather of the landed interest, there is, for all other interests, 14 representatives; while the landed interest send 58; that is, landholders and farmers have more than 4 parts in 5, of the whole House of Representatives. In the Senate you may have the whole power. This will always be the case, unless, as it was last spring, "while the husbandmen slept, the enemy came, and sowed *tares* among the wheat."

Why then is this alarm sounded? Is it not to scatter the seeds of controversy among men, united by a common interest? Is it not to sow discord among Brothers of the same principle? Should a man educate his five sons; one to medicine, or some other of the learned professions, one to a trade, one to manufacturing, one to Merchandize, and one to agriculture; and equali-

zing to them his expenditure on each, divide his estate among them ; and leave them, over and above all, as his last legacy, " Love as brethren ;" should, I say, any man do all this ; what would you say of him, who should attempt to excite a warfare, between the farming and manufacturing brothers ; or between any two others of the five ?

A state, or body politic, is like our natural bodies. It has five classes of interests, as we have five senses ; or as we are composed of a trunk, hands and feet. If our senses, or our limbs, should fall into warfare, each with the other, it would be no more unnatural than this war, attempted to be enkindled and blown up, among the various interests in our community. Look at that waggon ; it consists of a carriage, and four wheels. If a farmer should at night, bring home a load of hay or barley ; and, the evening being fine, leave it standing in the yard ; what would Mr. Cowell, or Mr. Waterman say, if either of them should happen to be in the country ? Why truly, they would tell the farmer, to pluck off the wheels ; or otherwise, they might, before morning, run away with the waggon, load and all. Their advice is quite as sage in their pamphlet ; for the wheels may move away with the waggon, quite as easily as the four other interests can run off with those of agriculture and the land.

All interests travelled together, in great harmony and peace, for the last four years. Why should they separate, and contend now ? Have not evils enough fallen on the State, since the 4th of last March ? Will nothing satisfy these men, but our utter ruin ? What can be their object ? shall it be stated.

Never was an administration of the General Government, more satisfactory to Rhode Island, than was the last. A few Jackson men could be found ; for never can all be satisfied. Here and there will be men, who want better beef than can be made of oxen ; better bread than can be baked from wheat. Notwithstanding this, your last Electoral vote was remarkably unanimous. It was almost hopeless ; but it stands on record, as a noble monument of your principles ; both what they had been, and what the administration must expect they will be.

So soon as it was known, General Jackson was elected, his friends rallied ; and wood, which had long been regarded, as plain New-England oak, was brought to market for hickory. The fence men leaped down, and joined those who had been *sincerely* of that party ; and all together, they started for every office in the gift of the President. Custom Houses, Light Houses ; Post Offices, ; wherever there was a carcass, a flight of these birds might be seen.

The leaders in this race, to recommend themselves the more at Washington ; and more certainly to secure their object, attempt-

ed, last spring, to revolutionize the State. Not succeeding then, they are now repeating the same attempt. Their great men, at Providence, at Newport, at Kingston, and at Bristol, are each struggling for the masterdom. In each place is a candidate for grand, or semi-grand Almoner of the Administration.

The collectorship of Providence has been disposed of rather prematurely. For remedy of this evil, a promise may have been given, by letter or otherwise, that, at a proper time, and upon proper representations, that appointment may be revised ; and thus the disappointed candidates, may all, *again hope*, and *again labour*, after the reward. At Bristol, a collectorship with all its appendents, is to be taken away, and bestowed. A new nomination is started, for this object. The two great Patrons of these two nominations, have a deep interest in the result. One has a son, the other a son in law ; both worthy young men ; but no more so, than the men, dead or alive, whose shoes they are waiting to wear.

This is not all. Men are promised or threatened, by those who have, or think they have, the patronage of Government to *give away*, or to dispose of *otherwise*. As these men *vote*, or *move*, or *speak* ; so a *brother*, or a *friend*, may win, or lose his bread.

These are some of the reasons, why Mr. Cowell, and Mr. Waterman are so alarmed for the landed interest of Rhode Island. These men are but *the men* of *other men* much more powerful than themselves ; and who assure them, that if they *terrify* the farmers of R. Island, into voting for Mr. Eddy and Mr. Durfee, they will have *two* of the delegation, and as they intimate three, *pledged* to support *right* or *wrong*, all measures of the present administration, and *distribute* all the offices, *per order* and *per contract*. If they cannot succeed in this, *they know* that *three*, and *we know* that *four* of that delegation, will go with *that administration*, just so far as it goes and *no step farther* than it goes, with the *interest of the State and nation*.

Is this intriguing worthy of the people of Rhode-Island? Will the landed, or any other interest, abandon their principles, as *some* of these men have done? A year ago they were with you, as *he of the purse*, had been with the *twelve*. What have they done; and for what consideration?

The great body of the people have no interest in these offices, but that they should be well filled for their benefit. They care very little, who holds them; provided the public service be well, and faithfully performed. Would they displace Danforth to put in any of the other candidates? No man ever came into office, with a heartier, or more general welcome than the present Collector of Providence; but no man would have displaced Colonel

Coles to have given him the office. Who would put out Barton to put in Branch; or Brown to give his place to Waterman; or Wheeler for Crapo, tho' all might wish it done; or Bullock for Dearth or D'Wolf, or D'Wolf, or any other of the numerous candidates in Bristol? Men might wish success to Littlefield, but who would dismiss Cranston for any other man? I ask you Gentlemen, what officer who has been displaced, or is now threatened with that punishment, would have been removed by a vote of the landed interest, with all other interests, all assembled, in Town-Meeting? Offices, created for the benefit of the people, are degraded into a political currency; and are now used, to buy and sell with, like dollars and cents. Sordid pamphleteers believe they can terrify, and humble you, into the vile instruments of their venality.

All the friends of General Jackson do not belong to this tribe. Some were originally, and from principle, attached to his cause. These men abhor such proceedings, quite as much as they should do. With these gentlemen we have now no controversy. Honest men, of all parties, will always give and receive respect.

These men do not belong to that body of partizans, organized, and disciplined, for carrying, if possible, the coming election. Their numbers are to be found, by some account of the United States' offices, in this State. Newport, Bristol, and Providence, are ports of entry. Warren, Pawtuxet, Wickford, and Pawcatuck, I think, are ports of delivery. In all these, there may be, connected with "the receipt of customs," at least, of *all descriptions*, one hundred officers. Light houses in all our waters; and post offices, in all the State, will, with deputies, clerks, and messengers, make another hundred. District Attorney, clerks, and sub clerks, and waiters; Marshall, deputies, sub deputies, and *assistants*, to *aid* in *taking the census*, will, if all receive appointments, who *may* expect them, make *at least* fifty. Here are 250 officers under the new administration. If the plan of *Nortonizing* be carried into full operation, these may *conveniently* be changed four times in the four coming years. This furnishes 1000 offices, to be *won* or *lost*, by *good political* conduct, during the *next* election. Those, who expect these offices, together with their fathers, brothers, uncles, cousins, connexions, and creditors, form the body of Jackson men, who, *last spring*, aided by the *honest partizans* of that cause, and some of our deceived friends, contrived, with a minority, to vote down the landed interest; and who intend, by a like manœuvre, to gain a like victory, in *August*.

About \$100,000, are, annually, expended, by the United States, on the fortifications in Newport harbour. Col. Totten

is the superintendant of these works. Whatever aid your late delegation in Congress, may have given, in obtaining this yearly appropriation, seems, *all* to be *forgotten*. Dr. Eddy, it appears, is turning his *studies* from *minerals* to *conchology*; and is about taking an excursion, with that disburser of public monies, to hunt "for shells up the Narragansett shore." The guns of this fort, are thus, brought to bear, upon your late Representatives.

Your delegation in Congress had, after much investigation, and no inconsiderable labour, obtained, during the last four years two appropriations, amounting to \$8500, for the purpose of establishing a Marine Hospital, in the District of Providence, for the benefit of sick, and disabled seamen. These appropriations were granted by the President, according to law, and on full proof, that the seamen of that District had paid into the Treasury of the United States, upwards of \$9600, more than been expended for their benefit. The whole proceeding is on record in the Treasury Department, at Washington. Between the late Secretary of the Treasury, and the public functionaries at Providence, some *question* arose, *first*, concerning the *place*, and *next* about the *title* to the land, where this hospital should be established. These occasioned so much delay in this business, that the last administration terminated, before the money could be *drawn* from the treasury of the United States.

This money is now *withholden* by the *present* administration. The appropriation is even *denied* by the *present* Secretary of the Treasury, in his letter to the Town Council of Providence. This detention was to be expected; because it might give occasion to such, as should be so disposed, to *censure* me for this *very singular* refusal. This in fact has happened. One gentleman, as I am told, has, with great asperity abused me; because the Secretary *withholds* this money. The Secretary doubtless thought, that by *exciting hopes*, and *fears* for this *fund* for the *relief* of seamen, the *friends* of those men might, at the coming election, *so vote* as would most probably *induce* the administration, *no longer to detain* this appropriation of money for their benefit. I say it *here*, and would say it before *all men*, the *Delegation*, in *that matter*, *faithfully* discharged their duty. The Gentleman, who has abused me, *knows* the fact; and whatever *he may do*, I know the *people of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations*, are made of that which is *too incorruptible*, to be *influenced*, in their votes, by *any regard* for the *manner* in which, the *Officers of Government* may *choose* to *dispose* of the money placed in their hands.

To finish all arrangements, *Duff Green*, Editor of the *Washington Telegraph*, has *passed through* this State; and *made*

known his wants. He has *looked* on you, as the crow looks on the war horse ; and waits for a chance shot, that he may flesh his foul beak in the warm sides of the noble animal. If he can *secure your defeat*, in August, he is *sure of his meal*. The carcass of R. Island will be left *at large to birds of every latitude* and no one will be there to fray them away.

Such, my fellow citizens, are the men, and such are the objects for which they have sent out among the people, the pamphlet *contrived* by Mr. Waterman, and *prepared* by Mr. Cowell. By what arguments do they attempt to prove their calumny ? They *alledge* that a *conspiracy* has been formed to destroy the political power of the landed interest of Rhode Island. To *prove* this accusation, they alledge, 1st, that these conspirators attempted to make a State Constitution. 2d, They elected Pearce and Burges to the House of Representatives. 3d, They elected Mr. Robbins to the Senate. 4th, They got up the petition, last spring, for free suffrage. 5th, They have incumbered the State with Banks, and opened a canal from Providence to Worcester. 6th, They have brought in the Manufacturing System ; and 7th, They have brought down the Tariff on the State, and nation. These are the seven abominations, in the sight of Duff Green, and all his associates in Rhode Island. Transformed, by Waterman and Cowell, into *seven demons*, they are *sent*, roaring through the land ; and seeking whom they may devour. Like the fabled vampire, these demons, are made to assume the form of your friends, that while you slumber, they may creep into your bosom and feed on your blood.

Who ever objected to a State Constitution, defining the powers of the General Assembly, and all the officers of your government ? The friends of England only, would hold us dependent on that nation, not only for our cloths, but likewise, for the very form of our Government. The convention was called, by a union of all interests. In its meetings the landed, was regarded as the great leading interest ; and the proposed constitution conformed to that principle. In what peril was that interest placed ? Had representation been apportioned, wholly by numbers, still the landed interest must have chosen the Senate, with all other General officers ; and sent three out of four into the House of Representatives. The constitution failed ; because the people did not like it. If formed with the *patience of Job*, still they did not discover in it, the *wisdom of Solomon* ; and accordingly all interests rejected it.

Who, except the authors of this Pamphlet, has ever said, Pearce and Burges were elected by a *club of conspirators against the landed interest* ? Mr. Pearce was *peculiarly* the can-

didate of that interest ; and elected *finally* by an *effort* of it against the others which supported his competitor. Those, opposed to me, received *more than one half* the votes of all other interests ; while I received *from the landed interest*, more than *three times* the number, received by me from all others. My friends, in those interests, were overbalanced by those opposed to me. The majority given to me *over all my collected, and scattered* competitors, was given to me *by that great interest*, which these sage pamphleteers tell you, Mr. Pearce and myself have *conspired* to overthrow. We have never been *remarkable* for doing injury to our *enemies* ; why then would these men persuade you, that we are *secretly labouring* to *destroy our friends* ?

How was the landed interest *sacrificed* by the election of Mr. Robbins to the Senate ? It was indeed that *very interest* which *at the first* chose him. The other interests were *divided* ; so that a *union* of this, *carried* the election. At the *second* time, all interests united : for although John R. Waterman, Esq. was nominated ; yet Mr. Robbins was unanimously chosen. No wonder Mr. Waterman *begins* to be *alarmed* for the landed interest ; and *now* comes out against Mr. Robbins. He would *then* have sailed under the *Adams flag* ; and afterwards, *last August*, offered to *ship again*, as Representative from Warwick, under the *same* colours. He was rejected. Having *received his month's advance*, he is afloat again ; and *now* under " the red flag of prescription and reform."

How has Mr. Robbins, in his public service, sacrificed the landed interest ? The Hon. Mr. D'Wolf was his immediate predecessor. Estimate that gentlemen as you please, and he certainly laboured for the benefit of the State ; yet Mr. Robbins can lose nothing by any comparison with him. Go farther back, if you will, and compare him with Mr. D'Wolf's predecessor. The Hon. Mr. Hunter, scholar, statesman and orator, as he certainly is, cannot eclipse Mr. Robbins, in any of those high, and distinguished titles.

In what manner did Pearce and Burges conspire against the landed interest, by a petition for Free Suffrage ? They were *absent* from the State, on the *public service*, during the whole *preparation, and arrangement* of this application. Was it moved by them, or to secure their election ? If the first, they must have written to the movers of it. Where are their letters ? Who received them ? If the second, what cause had they, or their friends, to *distrust* the landed interest, which had *twice honoured* them ; *once*, on a severe contest, and *once* by their *entire suffrage without opposition* ?

I have ever regarded this application, as I think it *should* be

regarded. *All people* in the state have an *unquestionable right* to petition the General Assembly. Even convicts are not *refused* this privilege. Shall it be *refused* to *such men*, as *set their names* to this petition? In 1811, a petition was presented to the General Assembly, for a *much greater* extension of the right of suffrage. It was, at the February session of that year, granted, by an *almost unanimous* vote of the senate, composed entirely of Landholders, two only objecting. It came down to the House of Representatives, and was *postponed*, till the next June. There was no *excitement*, no *fears* for the *landed interest*. No men, as the writers of the pamphlet now have done, seemed to *shudder with horror*, lest *day labourers*, and *salt heavers on the wharves*, should become voters. The petition was patiently tried, debated, and determined in the negative. The petitioners went home satisfied; and became freeholders and voters, in that manner, in which their fathers, and predecessors had become so before them. I was, at that time, a member of the General Assembly, and *gave my opinion at large*, and voted with the majority on the question. This is *all forgotten* by those who now *choose* to make me a *conspirator against the landed interest*. I am satisfied that the present petitioners, had they attended the election for Electors, last autumn, in the city of New-York, would, all of them, be of my opinion; and would vote against their own petition.

This application, for an extension of suffrage, is now charged against me, and my colleague, as an act of *conspiracy* against the *landed interest*. By whom was it first moved? What was its political character? At the first meeting in Providence, Samuel Brown, Esq. as the head, and leader, was chosen chairman. He is of the Custom House, and of course a Jackson man. A Central Committee of general correspondence, consisting of five, was chosen. Four of these were distinguished Jackson men. Do not these facts prove the political character of the application, if it had any political character? What did the friends of the present administration expect? What could Pearce and Burges then expect from a measure, if successful, when thus headed, and directed? I leave the questions for these pamphlet writers to answer.

This measure may be looked at from another point of view. So soon as this first movement had been made, and the excitement rendered somewhat conspicuous, "*The Hints to Farmers*," were *privately* put into circulation. This pamphlet has been attributed to Mr. Waterman and others; but Wilkins Updike, Esq. claims the copy right of it. In these "*Hints*," this application is *charged*, as it now is by the authors of the second edition of the *Hints*, as a *conspiracy to subvert the power of the landed interest*. From

that moment, Samuel Brown, the leader, and Gen. Carpenter, one of the Committee of Correspondence for the extension of suffrage, *abandoned* these offices ; and left the petitioners to take care of themselves. The gentleman of the Custom House, and the General, were rewarded for their adroitness, by a mission to East Greenwich, on the 4th of July. The honest and honourable petitioners of *both parties*, whom they had *deserted*, had no such means of *securing* their fidelity.

Tell me now, gentlemen, if here was a conspiracy, for *whose benefit* was it *formed* and *put in motion* ? What use was made of it *last spring*, by those, who had *deceived*, and *abused* the *honourable* and *fair intentioned* portion of these petitioners ? What use are *these very men now* making of this *same* application ? Look at the "*Hints*" of Mr. Updike ; and look at the *pamphlet* of Messrs. Waterman and Cowell. We *put ourselves* on our *country*.

Granting many Bank Charters, and incorporating the Blackstone Canal Company are offered, as *another proof*, that Pearce and Burges have conspired against the landed interest. Why, these Banks are, more than half of them, owned by that very interest. Shall these charters be resumed by the General Assembly ; and shall the state then commence the business of banking ? These wise men must indeed be *dabblers* in politics, when they offer this advice. How shall the millions of capital be raised, to commence the business ? By a direct tax on persons, on lands, and on moveables ? One fourth of the annual revenue of the United States would not supply the funds. Banks now pay the taxes ; and relieve the landed interest. If Banking were done by the State, these taxes must return, and fall again upon the land. How could these institutions be managed ? What a host of officers ; what a field of intrigue ! *What* should we find in the State, but *buying* and *selling* ?

These *wise men* say the state has been *too liberal* ; granted *too many* banks ; too much business of banking. This is a *most rare absurdity*. The more numerous the Banks, the less profit for each banker. There can be, in any State, but *so much* currency ; but *so much* loaning of money ; and *so much* banking, as will *satisfy* these purposes. It is like water, you can *crowd no more* of it, into any *given* vessel. *Gold* and *silver* are the *basis* of your *currency* ; and that must be *increased*, to increase the *paper money*, representing it. The increase in *quantity* of gold and silver, diminishes its price. The moment it becomes too plenty, it will be *bought* up, and *carried*, as merchandize, to *other* countries, where the price is *higher*. Multiply banks, as you will, this eternal law of exchange, will forever prevent bank-

ers, by that means, from increasing, either the *amount* of *currency*, or the *amount* of *loans*. That *increase* must *depend* on the *increase* of *exchangeable commodities*, in any State. If a State multiply banks, it is for its own benefit; not that of bankers. One bank watches another; and prevents too great an issue of paper; and competition brings all business to the best terms for its customers, both in courtesy, and profits.

How is the landed interest, as such, endangered by the multiplicity of Banks? They merely want a *stable* and *secure* currency, whereby they may *exchange* their produce with *all other interests*. If banks are too few or too many, how are Pearce and Burges in fault? How have we *brought* this *great question* into *any conspiracy* against the landed interest?

The Blackstone Canal seems to be a heavy business against us. These men tell you, that we have *opened* the *Providence* market to the farmers of Worcester county, on terms, *equal* with those *offered* to farmers on Narragansett bay. Is it really so? Have we to deal with men, *who would make no roads*, lest other men *might bring* their produce to market? Why, a market is *like any thing else* which grows by *being fed*. Where are the greatest cities? At the *mouths of the longest rivers*. If the Blackstone *extended*, like the *Hudson*, and was *aided* like that, with 400 miles of canal, both *Newport*, and *Providence*, might *equal New-York*; and the *lands* of Rhode-Island would be the *gardens and orchards*, supplying them with *fruits and vegetables*. Men of *little minds* can have no view of *great undertakings*; and base spirits *contaminate* noble projects by giving *mean and vile objects* to them. The *people* of Rhode-Island will not be *deceived*. They will *duly appreciate* the *efforts* of *those men*, who have *expended their labour and capital*, to *unite the waters*, the *towns*, and the *lands* of Rhode-Island, with the *commerce* of the interior and *very centre* of New-England.

Manufactures are the *sixth* abomination in the catalogue made out in this pamphlet, of conspiracies against the landed interest. It has been seen, that not many men, women, or children, *employed* in these, can vote in any election. Their *numbers* will, not in that respect *endanger* the interests of farmers. They do not labour on the land, and they must of consequence, depend on landholders; draw from them fuel, forage, food, and the materials of their trades. Manufactures *consume* the *surplus produce* of agriculture. In every country, mostly devoted to farming, there will be at many times a great mass of surplus labour. Manufactures are *continually calling for*, and *employing*, this *surplus labour*. We are told, by way of objection, that this demand for labour *raises wages*. It is true; and where there is *no demand* for labour wages will be *still lower*; and finally *run down to no*

thing. For where there is *nothing* to *do*, men will *receive* nothing for *doing* it.

These men, who live on their salaries and fees of office, would like to see wages *down to sixpence* a day. They look *no farther* than their *own kitchens*, and *stables*; and think the country is *blessedly conditioned*; if the *wages* of *servants* are a *little below* old clothes and broken meat; so the *master* may *bring his man* somewhat in debt, at the end of the year. Let me tell these economists, that *low wages* are the *infalible* mark of the *poverty* and *declining* condition of a country. While a *brisk demand* for labour, and *good wages* prove that a nation is *advancing* and *prosperous*.

Manufactures *supply* farmers and other interests with all needful fabrics. This is done in exchange for their several commodities, at a price, and on terms, at which they cannot be furnished from other countries. I will not go into any illustration; for every landholder, at this table, is abundantly satisfied of the *truth* of this statement.

Finally, manufactures have, for a number of years, furnished most of the employment, for that capital, and labour, which have *supplied* the revenue of the state, and relieved the landed interest from all state taxes. How then do manufactures prove that Pearce and Burges are conspirators against the landed interest? We agree that the gentlemen opposed to us, are, hostile to their whole system; and wish, most of all, to see them *destroyed*; but we do not, therefore admit that the *landed interest* is *likely* to receive *any* peculiar benefit, from the *public service* of those gentlemen.

The tariff is the seventh, and last proof, offered by this Pamphlet, that Pearce and Burges have entered into a conspiracy to overthrow the political power of the landed interest. This tariff, so much abused, so little understood, is the great system of laws, laying duties on *imported* commodities; and thereby *raising the revenue*, and *encouraging*, and *protecting* the domestic industry, of the United States. It was begun in the first Congress, holden at New-York, 1789. Since that time, it has been *revised*, *altered*, and *amended*, more than *twenty times*. The most *remarkable* amendments were made, in 1816, 1824, and 1828. Lowndes, Calhoun, and all the Southern leaders, *voted for it* 1816; Eddy and Durfee, voted for it in 1824; and Pearce and Burges, voted for it, in 1828.

The encouragement, and protection, *intended* to be given to American *Wool* and *woollen cloths*, by the amendment of 1824, had been all *taken away*, by the British Parliament *repealing* their *duty* on wool, imported into England; and by the practices of the English manufacturers, who sent out cloths to the United

States. These were valued at *half* their cost ; and marked with *not more than two thirds* the number of yards contained in each piece. The duty, being a certain amount per cent, on the *value*, and the *measure*, was in this manner, and by the *aid* of *certain custom house officers*, in the great importing cities, *totally evaded*. To *remedy* this evil, the friends of American industry, attempted to amend this system of tariff law, in 1828. Here they were met, by all the enemies of that system. The friends were anxious to secure the *wool raising and woollen cloth making interests*, in the United States. The enemies were equally anxious to *destroy them*. These enemies proposed, and *aided by false friends*, caused *every alteration* in the law which rendered it *obnoxious* to the interests of *New-England*. They put in the duty on molasses, and *repealed* the drawback on exported New-England rum. They put in the duty on iron, steel, hemp, sail cloth and glass. In this state of the law, it must have been totally abandoned ; or voted for, with all these evils attached to it. If abandoned, not only the *new protecting duty on Cottons*, but the *whole protection of wool and woollen cloths must have been abandoned*. Thus situated, the *friends of the protecting policy* had *no other mode of voting*, but to *take their choice of evils*. It was known, that the law might be *amended*, either in the Senate, or by some after Congress ; but it was feared, that if the *principles contained* in that law relative to *wool and woollens*, did not *pass then*, they would *not be established*, till it would be too late, to *save those great interests*. It was *amended*, in the Senate ; and passed into a law by the concurrence of the House of Representatives.

I pray of you Gentlemen to *excuse me* for having made these remarks *so minutely*. The writers of this Pamphlet, and *other dabblers* in politics, have *abused me* for *speaking against*, and *voting for* the law. I have given you the *reasons* of doing so. Had New-England *voted down* that law, the southern politicians would have done, what they are *continually labouring* to do. They would have effected a *disunion and controversy*, between the people of the *East* and of the *West* ; and by that disunion and controversy, they would have *overthrown* the *great protecting system*, of the United States.

The tariff might be *amended* ; but if it were *repealed*, Rhode Island would not, in 1840, number 60,000 people. The demand, the employment, and the fabrics, furnished, by manufacturers, would pass away. The young generations, must *migrate to a distant wilderness*, in a new country. Streams would return to their native chaunels ; villages dwindle to single houses ; and houses and lands become desolate. The green islands, which seem to float before us, in the bright waters of our sparkling

bay, and swarm with busy people, might, on one half of their fields, be left to grow up into forest, without crowding the scattered population. This is the consummation, so *devoutly* wished by *all enemies* of the *great American Policy*. *They* would bring back upon us the *English System* ; place these *United States* in *colonial dependence* on Great Britain ; and *restore* the *prosperous times* from which *our fathers redeemed* us with their blood. Your Delegation have been traduced, because they *could not see* the *wisdom*, and *would not sustain* the policy, which may, *by any possibility*, result in *this catastrophe*.

I will detain you no longer, with any account of this pamphlet. You have looked at its authors ; examined the absurdities of their pretended disclosures ; viewed the persons, and their objects, and interests, who sent it abroad ; and well considered the proofs, offered in support of this infamous libel on your friends, and your understandings. Your late representatives in Congress are the objects of this foul calumny. They stand before you as candidates for re-election. Had not this been the case, the tongue of slander would have been silent. What we have done, you already know. If we have neglected aught of our duty, it cannot be hidden from you. We have laboured to bring to Rhode Island, in the Halls of legislation, some portion of that character which her sons have earned for her, in the fields of military achievement. The effort may have been successful ; but the object was indeed worth ambition. We are not here to depreciate the merit of gentlemen, brought up in opposition to us. " They have done the State some service." As your public agents, we look to you for nothing, in which, *we only* are concerned. The *great common* concernment of *all interest*, is now *peculiarly* brought into the question. When you *look*, as we know you *will* look to *all these*, *we also* shall be *seen*. Think of yourselves, of your families, your State, your country ; and if you do not *then* remember us, we are *satisfied* to be *forgotten*.

Professor Goodrich of Yale College
from his Friend

PROPOSITIONS

FOR

James Hillhouse

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES,

PROVIDING FOR THE

ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENT,

AND GUARDING AGAINST

THE UNDUE EXERCISE OF EXECUTIVE INFLUENCE,

PATRONAGE, AND POWER.

WASHINGTON :

PRINTED BY GALES & SEATON.

1830.

Handwritten text at the top of the page, possibly a title or header, written in a cursive script. The text is partially obscured by a diagonal line and appears to be written in dark ink on aged, yellowed paper.

PROPOSITIONS.
OF
AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE UNITED STATES.

Every friend of the United States, wishing their prosperity, permanent union, and the quiet enjoyment of the blessings of *liberty*, both *individual* and *national*, must, when he reviews the history of Presidential elections, feel an anxious solicitude for the future.

The electioneering *party strife* which has been introduced into our Legislative halls, and into the Executive departments of our Government, must be alarming to every considerate man, and must excite melancholy forebodings as to the final result. This *party strife* is not confined to the General Government, it extends to the Legislatures of every State, and descends even to town and city corporations.

These considerations have induced the revisal of a pamphlet, containing certain proposed amendments to the Constitution of the United States, and the sundry explanatory remarks, which exhibit their importance, and the then existing and growing necessity of their adoption. The contents of that pamphlet were, in 1808, presented to the Senate of the United States, by a Senator of Connecticut, and printed. The evils of *party strife*, growing out of Presidential elections, and the exercise of Executive influence, patronage, and power, have, in practice, far exceeded what was then predicted; and, as the United States increase in opulence and strength, these evils may be expected to increase to the endangering the public welfare.

If, in the first formation of our Constitution, the substance of those amendments had been interwoven into it, it is by no means certain it would not have proved most beneficial. But the Constitution having now been more than forty years in operation, it is not deemed expedient to attempt to make amendments which are not of vital importance to the peace and safety of the nation. Under that impression, every thing is omitted in the amendments now proposed, except what relates to the appointment of the President and Vice President, and the providing a salutary check on that Executive influence and patronage, which, during the short time we have existed as a nation, has

had a *constructive extension*, found to be both inconvenient and injurious. Competent provision ought to be made in the Constitution against its improper exercise ; and nothing can be so effectual as the adoption of some mode of appointing a President, which shall render it impossible for a candidate to bring the prerogatives of the office to his aid in an election, and to take away all temptation to use them in any other manner than for the public good. Under these impressions, the *amendments* now proposed extend no further than to what relates to the appointment of the President and Vice President, and to a necessary check on the improper exercise of Executive power and influence. As the pamphlet alluded to, contains explanations and reasons illustrative of the expediency of adopting the amendments, it is subjoined by way of Appendix.

More than twenty years having now elapsed since those propositions were presented to the Senate, and as they were not then thought to have any party reference, or allusion, so their republication, at this time, cannot be considered as having any such allusion ; most assuredly no such reference is intended.

Were the Author now a Member of Congress, these amendments would be presented to that body in an official form ; but that not being the case, and deeming it important, as regards the future *peace and prosperity* of the Union, that measures should be adopted to arrest what our wisest and best men consider as a dangerous evil, resort is had to the *press*, the only way left to propose the subject to the PEOPLE ; who, being the source of all *power*, can speak with *effect*.

From persons devoted to *party*, no aid can be expected ; they calculate on *personal* emolument, or advancement, from the agitation and changes which may be brought about by party exertions in a Presidential Election. The great body of the People, however, can feel no interest in having the community disturbed by such agitations and contentions. Every day, and in every part of this extended Empire, are heard expressions of regret that such a state of things should exist ; to remedy it, various projects have been brought forward, but none have been assented to that have proved effectual.

A candid and careful examination of the plan proposed, is most earnestly invited. Let not its *peculiarity* cause it to be thrown aside as *visionary* and *idle* ; it will be found fraught with more important results, than a cursory examination would perhaps suggest.

Probably not many more Presidential Elections will pass, before the evils growing out of the present mode of appointing our Chief Magistrate will appear so great, and so alarming, as to cause the adoption of some other method. As the year

eighteen hundred and thirty-seven is beyond the period for which any of the present Senators are elected, should these amendments be adopted, every Senator would thereafter be chosen with the express view to his being a candidate for the office of President ; and we might confidently trust that the States would select their ablest men; and, beyond a doubt, every State in the Union would have in it men who are competent to the office, after six years' experience in the discharge of Executive duties, as a Senator of the United States.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two thirds of both Houses concurring, That the following articles be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States, as amendments to the Constitution of the United States ; all, or any of which articles, when ratified by three fourths of the said Legislatures, to be valid to all intents and purposes as part of said Constitution, viz :

ARTICLE I.

SEC. 1. On the last Wednesday of February, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and on the last Wednesday of February in each succeeding two years, the President shall be chosen, to hold his office for two years from and after the third day of March then next, to be elected as follows :

SEC. 2. In presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, each Senator belonging to the class whose term of service will first expire, and constitutionally eligible to the office of President, of which the House of Representatives shall be the sole judges, shall, beginning with the first on the alphabet, and in their alphabetical order, draw an ivory ball out of a box containing the same number of uniform balls as there shall be Senators present and eligible, one of which shall be a colored ball, the others white ; the Senator who shall draw the colored ball, shall be President. A committee of the House of Representatives, to consist of one member from each State, to be appointed in such manner as the House shall direct, shall place the balls in the box, shake the same so as to intermix them, and superintend the drawing thereof.

ARTICLE II.

SEC. 1. And thereupon the Vice-President shall be elected from the remaining Senators of the same class, to hold his office for a like term of two years.

SEC. 2. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President during the remainder of the term: and the Congress may, by law, provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

ARTICLE III.

SEC. 1. In case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, if Congress be in session, if not, as soon as they shall be in session, the President shall, in like manner, be elected for the residue of the term, to be taken from the class of Senators whose term of service will then first expire.

ARTICLE IV.

SEC. 1. The President shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, and not otherwise, to remove all officers of the United States to whose appointment the advice and consent of the Senate is made necessary, excepting the Judges of the Supreme and inferior Courts.

SEC. 2. In every case of misconduct in office, the President alone shall have power to suspend the officer, and make a temporary appointment of a person to discharge the duties of the office, until a decision can be had on the question of removal, which decision shall be on the information and reasons communicated by the President.

ARTICLE V.

SEC. 1. No Senator or Representative shall, during the term for which he was chosen, be appointed to any office of honor, trust, or profit, under the United States.

APPENDIX.

PROPOSITIONS

FOR

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION

OF THE UNITED STATES:

SUBMITTED BY MR. HILLHOUSE TO THE SENATE,

ON THE TWELFTH DAY OF APRIL, 1808,

WITH HIS EXPLANATORY REMARKS.

NEW HAVEN:

PRINTED BY OLIVER STEELE & CO.

1808.

PROPOSITIONS

FOR

AMENDING THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

Being about to offer a resolution proposing sundry important amendments to the Constitution of the United States, I must ask the patience and attention of the Senate to some preliminary remarks, to explain their tendency and object.

The situation of the United States, at the time of the meeting of the Convention for forming the Constitution, I well remember; and it will be recollected by every member of this Senate to have been such as to excite the anxious solicitude of every considerate man in our country. External pressure being removed, the recommendations of Congress had ceased to have effect on the States. We were a nation without *credit* and without *resources*; or rather without the means of drawing them forth. Local policy began to operate in a manner that tended to excite jealousy and discontent among the States; and there was reason to fear that we were exposed, and at no remote period, to all the calamities of civil war. Under these circumstances, the present Constitution was promulgated, and was eagerly seized on by the great body of the People, as the *palladium* of our *liberties*, and the *bond* of our *union*. I was of the number of those who approved it, though some parts of it appeared to me mere *theories* in the science of government, which I hoped in the experiment would prove salutary; but my expectations were not sanguine.

It has been with anxious concern that I have seen a disposition, and various attempts, to make *partial* amendments to the Constitution, which have, in some instances, prevailed. Others are in progress. All are aimed at *particular detached parts*; which, without examining or regarding the bearing on *other parts*, like partial alterations in a curious complicated machine, may, instead of benefiting, destroy its utility.

Some gentlemen have expressed their regret for having voted for amendments already adopted. Other amendments are on your table, and coming from such high authority as to demand serious attention. From the alarm and jealousy excited in the public mind, there is danger of other *partial* amendments still more injurious. Believing as I do, that amendments, and im-

portant ones too, are necessary, which materially affect the office of President, and the power of the two Houses of Congress, and without which our country will be exposed to incalculable evils; under these impressions, and to attempt a radical cure, I am induced to come forward, at this time, with my amendments.

Before I proceed with my explanatory remarks, I must take the liberty of stating, that in using the terms monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, I do not use them as the cant words of party—I use them in their fair genuine sense. The terms Federalist and Republican, I do not use by way of *commendation* or *reproach*; but merely by way of description, as the first names of individuals, to distinguish them from others of the same family name.

Federalists and Republicans never divided upon the elementary principles of government. There are very few Americans, who are not in principle, attached to a free Republican Government; though they may differ on minor points, and about the best mode of organizing it. Persons attached to monarchy or aristocracy are few indeed; they are but as the dust in the balance. No one in his sober senses can believe it practicable, or politic if practicable, to introduce either. If ever introduced, which God forbid, it must be done at the point of the bayonet.

It is well known that the denominations of the parties, called Federalists and Republicans, were applied, the former to those who supported, the latter to those who opposed the two first administrations, formed under the Federal Constitution. Those who opposed those administrations, wishing to obtain the governing power, and disliking the name of Anti-Federalists, given to the first opposers of the Constitution, assumed the more popular name of *Republicans*. It cannot be expected that a politician, when he has made himself up for a political ball or masquerade, will exhibit his true character. Many of the most florid speeches are made more with an eye to the People, than to the body to which they are addressed. To find the true character of man, you must look to his *home-spun, every day dress*; if you do this, will you not find a full proportion of good Republicans, as they are called, who exhibit no more of that virtue called *humility* than their neighbors, and who manifest no greater regard for *equal rights*? The supposed differences are more imaginary than real. Names may, and sometimes do, deceive ignorant, uninformed individuals; but these names now scarcely do that.

As the amendments I shall propose are not to commence their operation until the 4th of March, 1813, which is beyond

the term of service of any one now in office, they cannot be considered as having any personal application; and I assure this Senate, that I do not intend, by any thing I shall say, any *personal* or *party* allusion. As I am about to tread on delicate ground, and do not wish to give offence, I thought it incumbent on me to make these explanations.

Some of the important features of our Constitution were borrowed from a model, which did not very well suit our condition: I mean the Constitution and Government of England, a mixed monarchy, in which monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy are so combined as to form a check on each other. One important and indispensable requisite of such a Government is, that the two first branches should be hereditary, and that the Monarch should be the fountain of honor and source of power. In the United States, the PEOPLE are the source of *all power*.

We have not the materials for forming an Executive capable of wielding royal prerogatives; nor an aristocratic Senate, which could form a barrier between the exercise of such prerogatives and the spirit of democracy. The President and Senate depending for office on a popular election, are constrained to regard popular opinion. The idea of insuring an *energetic* and *fair* administration of the Government, by increasing *patronage*, and accumulating *power* and *prerogatives* in the hands of the President is visionary.

Two evils to be guarded against in a Republican Government, (such as is that of the United States, and such as I hope and trust it ever will be,) are *ambition* and *favoritism*. The former induces the most aspiring, artful, and unprincipled men to assume the garb of *patriotism*, for the purpose of obtaining office and power: and when they have obtained it, they extend their patronage and favor to those who have been most active and instrumental in procuring their elevation.

There is no position more generally admitted to be true, than that MAN is fond of POWER. When ambition is alive, and competitors for office take the field, those means which promise *success* will be resorted to. None are more powerful, or can be used to greater effect, than the gift of lucrative and important offices; and none will be more zealous and indefatigable in their exertions than expectants of such offices. A golden eagle will bribe but one man; but an office may operate as a bribe to one hundred expectants. A man who would spurn at a direct offer of money, may be induced to believe he may accept an office without dishonor. To an ambitious man, how great must be the self-denial, that would not permit him to use such powerful means to obtain an election, which alone can raise him to the most dignified office in the nation.

Placing in the hands of the Chief Magistrate who depends on a popular election, prerogatives and powers in many respects equal, in some exceeding in *practice*, those exercised by the King of Great Britain, is one of the errors of the Constitution. This error can be corrected only in one of two ways; either the office must be stripped of those high prerogatives and powers, and the term of holding the office shortened; or some other mode devised, than a *popular election*, for appointing a President: otherwise our country must perpetually groan under the scourge of party rage and violence, and be continually exposed to that worst of all calamities, *civil war*.

The President of the United States is commander in chief of the Army and Navy; and, when called into actual service, of all the militia of the nation. He has the sole power of nominating to offices; and *exercises* the power at his will and pleasure, of removing from office. He has a qualified negative on all laws. He has the sole power of directing the diplomatic intercourse with foreign nations, and of forming treaties; which, though he cannot ratify, he may reject, without the approbation of the Senate. He has the power, not of declaring war in *form*, but of adopting a course of measures, which will necessarily and inevitably lead to war. He has the power of granting pardon for all offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment. He is entrusted with the execution of all laws, and grants commissions to all officers. These are some of the powers and prerogatives vested by the Constitution in the President; others will be found by a careful perusal of it. Can these great powers and high prerogatives be more *safely* trusted in the hands of the President, who may be an aspiring man, and may have friends and favorites about him, anxious for office, than with the immediate representatives of the People, and the Senate representing the sovereignty of the States?

I may be told, and I admit, that it is easier to point out defects in the Constitution, than to propose remedies: on this point I feel the difficulty; I feel great diffidence. The magnitude of the subject presents to my mind embarrassments hard to be surmounted; and nothing could have induced me to hazard my amendments, but a sense of duty enjoined by my official situation, and a distressing apprehension of the danger to which we are exposed. I shall not shrink from the task of proposing a remedy, and attempting to avert the impending danger.

I am aware I have engaged in a difficult undertaking. I have to oppose deep-rooted prejudices and long established opinions, which will be abandoned with reluctance. I have

